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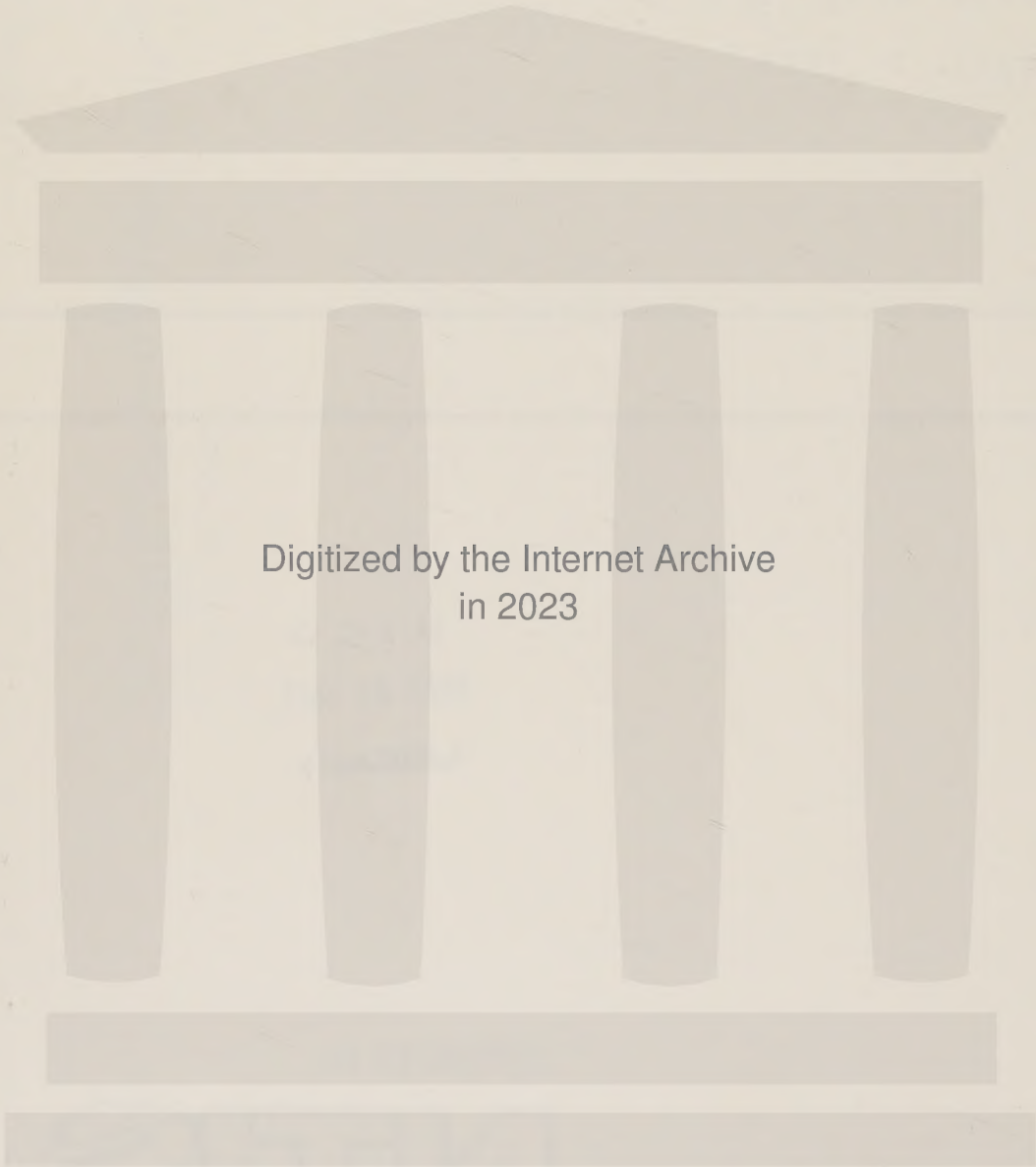

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It Is Necessary To Strengthen the Dictatorship of the Proletariat Over the Bourgeoisie

- Notes on reading "The State and Revolution"

by

Che Chün (哲軍)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

The 4th National People's Congress in our country adopted a new Constitution with the Party's basic line as the guiding thought. When studying this set of basic general laws of our country, we find a re-reading of "The State and Revolution" particularly heartening. This great work by Lenin, a work that defends and develops the Marxist doctrine of the state, is a sharp weapon for us to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, to prevent capitalist restoration, and to win still greater victories.

"The State and Revolution" was written on the eve of the October Revolution, at a time when the international communist movement had had a shining militant history of more than 70 years and had accumulated both positive and negative historical experiences in the unceasing line struggle in which Marxism was pitted against opportunism and revisionism and in the sharp and complex struggle in which the proletariat was pitted against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Lenin's "The State and Revolution" and other works were written on the basis of a summary of these experiences. In summing up these experiences, he gave top priority to the quintessence of the proletarian revolutionary line--violent revolution and the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out: The view of violent revolution consistently lauded by Marx and Engels over several decades lies "at the root of all the teachings of Marx and Engels." The betrayal of Marxism by the revisionists "is expressed in striking relief by the neglect of such propaganda and agitation...."* and by the negation of violent revolution.

Lenin also pointed out: It was this historical experience of all revolutions, it was this world-historical lesson that Marx summed up in giving his short, sharp, concise and expressive formula: the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was the "substance" and "essence" of Marxism. But it was precisely this "essence" that the revisionists tried their utmost to distort and emasculate.

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* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 188.

Having generalized the rich experience of class and line struggles, Lenin stated explicitly: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested."* In a word, Lenin took the attitude toward the dictatorship of the proletariat as the yardstick for discerning genuine and fake Marxism, for examining the big right and big wrong on the line question, and for differentiating class alignments.

Recognition of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat means that it is necessary to adopt a revolutionary attitude toward the bourgeois state machine, to criticize and smash it to pieces, and to replace the bourgeois dictatorship by the proletarian dictatorship.

Recognition of the class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat means that it is necessary to strengthen the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie and to use socialism and communism to defeat capitalism throughout the historical period of the transition from capitalism to communism.

Lenin strongly stressed, and repeatedly reaffirmed, the great Marxist theory on the need to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the transitional period. He said: "The essence of Marx's teaching on the state has been mastered only by those who understand that the dictatorship of a single class is necessary not only for every class society in general, not only for the proletariat which has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but also for the entire historical period which separates capitalism from 'classless society,' from communism."** He also said: "Forward development, i.e., toward communism, proceeds through the dictatorship of the proletariat, and cannot do otherwise, for the resistance of the capitalist exploiters cannot be broken by anyone else or in any other way."*** Lenin had all along believed that without the dictatorship of the proletariat there would be no socialism and communism. "Socialism" without the dictatorship of the proletariat is either utopian or deceptive. Whoever pays lip service to socialism but in practice departs from or even opposes the dictatorship of the proletariat is not a revolutionary, does not deserve the title of communist and should have his qualification as a proletarian leader or adviser removed and his disgraceful renegade act exposed.

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* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 199.

** Ibid., p. 200.

*** Ibid., p. 246.

After the inauguration of the Third International, Lenin issued an appeal to the communist parties of all countries, asking them to spread the idea of proletarian dictatorship among the laboring people and make it known to every person and household. He said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat should be propagated properly, so that every ordinary man and woman worker, soldier and peasant can recognize the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat through the living facts carried systematically in our daily press."* In "Conditions for Joining the Communist International," which was drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Second Congress of the Communist International, the propagation of the idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat was listed as the first condition.

The immense importance which Lenin attached to the dictatorship of the proletariat was based on his profound analysis of classes, class contradictions and class struggle throughout the period of transition. After the October Revolution, Lenin pointed out many times: The seizure of political power by the proletariat "is not the end but the continuation of the class struggle in new forms."** This is because: 1) the overthrown exploiters will always attempt in various ways to restore the "paradise" of which they have been deprived; 2) the spontaneous forces of the petty bourgeoisie constantly engender new bourgeois elements; 3) within the ranks of the working class and among personnel of state organs, due to bourgeois influence and encirclement and erosion by petty-bourgeois spontaneous forces, there are people who may degenerate and become new bourgeois elements; and 4) encirclement by international capitalism, the threat of armed intervention by imperialism and its conspiratorial activities to bring about peaceful disintegration are the external conditions for the continued existence of class struggle in socialist countries. It is obvious that in the transitional period with classes and class struggle, Lenin attached the utmost importance to the struggle between decaying capitalism and growing communism, the struggle between the bourgeoisie which has been overthrown but is far from being wiped out and the newly engendered bourgeois elements on the one hand and the proletariat which has seized political power and is advancing triumphantly on the other. What he was most alert against was the danger of capitalist restoration. In stressing the need to adhere to the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin precisely set his eyes on preventing restoration and pushing the socialist revolution forward toward communism.

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* "Conditions for Joining the Communist International," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 309.

** "Preface to the Published Speech 'Deception of the People with Slogans of Freedom and Equality," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXIX, p. 343.

Lenin taught us: In order to prevent capitalist restoration, the dictatorship of the proletariat must first of all smash the attack by the international bourgeoisie, put down the domestic counter-revolutionary revolts, and suppress all counter-revolutionary activities. In the early days of the founding of a state of proletariat dictatorship, speaking generally, military struggle and the struggle to suppress counter-revolution are always the most outstanding and the most important tasks. If these tasks are fulfilled successfully, the newborn proletarian rule will be consolidated and develop; otherwise, it will suffer setbacks and failure. After summing up the bloody lessons from the strangulation of the Paris Commune, the Hungarian Soviets and the Finnish Workers' Government by the international gendarme and the landlord and bourgeois home-returning groups, Lenin pointed out the danger of failing to suppress counter-revolution vigorously, of being magnanimous without bounds and of lightly taking the promises of the armed interventionists. Lenin roundly criticized the bourgeois "humanitarianism" and "pure democracy," Sakyamuni's "mercy" and other trash used by Kautsky to attack the dictatorship of the proletariat. Repeatedly he explained: The basic attribute of the dictatorship of the proletariat is revolutionary violence, and "dictatorship is iron rule, government that is revolutionarily bold and swift."* He called for the most tenacious fight to rebuff the intervention and subversion by imperialism--"Suppress the resistance of the exploiters, i.e., the capitalists and landlords and their lackeys, with the most relentless, swift and resolute means of violence.**

The task of the dictatorship of the proletariat to suppress the internal enemy and to guard against the external enemy is a protracted militant task. However great the results and victories won in the fight against imperialism and in the suppression of counter-revolution, this task will not come to an end. As long as exploiting classes exist and imperialism, social-imperialism and their running dogs remain, the struggle against subversion and aggression and for the suppression and elimination of counter-revolution will not stop. China's new Constitution reflects this historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At present, all kinds of basic contradictions of the world are intensifying, and while the factors of revolution are growing, the factors of war are also growing and the Soviet revisionists have not given up their intention to subjugate us. Under these circumstances, our Constitution upholds the Marxist-Leninist principle and stand that "class struggle will inevitably lead to the dictatorship of the proletariat"

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* "The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 517.

** "Salute to the Hungarian Workers," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 857.

and "the state of the proletariat is a machine for the proletariat to suppress the bourgeoisie," and draws a clear line of demarcation with such fallacies as Confucius' "benevolent government" and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "state of the whole people." It reaffirms and further expounds the vital current and historical significance of the function of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country in suppressing domestic reactionary classes, reactionaries and elements who resist socialist transformation and oppose socialist construction, in suppressing all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and in protecting the country against subversion and possible aggression by external enemies.

Following the seizure of political power by the proletariat and in order to consolidate political power and prevent restoration, it is also necessary to carry out socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production. Socialist society is a new society emerging from the capitalist society. In the womb of the capitalist society are conceived only certain pre-conditions for the socialist mode of production; socialist relations of production are not and cannot be conceived in it. In the early days of the establishment of the proletarian rule, existing side by side with the socialist relations of production are also capitalist or even pre-capitalist relations of production. Only by nationalizing the means of production in the hands of the bourgeoisie and by transforming small proprietors according to socialist principle will it be possible to build up the economic base of socialist society and to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In "The State and Revolution" and especially in its fifth chapter, Lenin thoroughly analyzed the historical role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in "making the most complete break with the traditional relations of ownership" as well as the historical significance of such a break. He pointed out: "'Bourgeois right' recognizes the means of production as the private property of individuals. Socialism converts them into common property."* This is a step of the utmost significance in abolishing bourgeois right and eliminating all classes. This step of course should not be regarded as the last step. This is because the exploiting classes still exist, class distinctions still exist, bourgeois rights in distribution and exchange by means of money still exist, and factual inequalities still exist. Lenin said: The principal sources of modern social inequality "cannot on any account be removed immediately by the mere conversion of the means of production into public property, by the mere expropriation of the capitalists."** After the October Revolution, Lenin continued to develop the above-mentioned brilliant idea and taught us again and again: "The elimination of classes requires prolonged, difficult and indomitable class struggle."***

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* "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 252.

** Ibid., p. 253.

*** "Salute To the Hungarian Workers," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 858.

Inheriting and developing Lenin's brilliant thesis, our great leader Chairman Mao, following the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production in our country, stated clearly: In socialist society the basic contradiction is still the contradiction between the relations of production and the productive forces, between the superstructure and the economic base. He also pointed out emphatically: In socialist society there are still classes and class struggle and the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road. Socialist revolution on the economic front (ownership of the means of production) alone is not enough, nor can it be consolidated if carried out alone. Accompanying it must be a thoroughgoing socialist revolution on the political and ideological fronts. In the political and ideological sphere, the question of who will finally win, socialism or capitalism, can only be settled after a very considerable period of time.

To prevent capitalist restoration, the proletariat must also exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure.

Prior to the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, a big blow is dealt to the old superstructure when the Marxist-Leninist political party prepares on a mass scale revolutionary opinion in favor of seizure of political power and criticizes the old world. Another heavy blow is dealt to the old superstructure when the proletariat smashes the old state machine and creates a new one. But this is merely the beginning of a long journey to crushing the whole of the old superstructure. The struggle to suppress counter-revolution, oppose armed intervention, and to expropriate the exploiters in the early period of proletarian dictatorship is necessarily accompanied by an ideological struggle. And following the victories won in military, political and economic struggles, the ideological struggle will naturally become more prominent and important. This is because the vanquished exploiting classes want to make use of their "superior position" in this sphere to have another trial of strength with the proletariat and to open up a breach for the restoration of capitalism. On the other hand, the proletariat must beat back their attack, develop the superstructure of socialist society, and work for the consolidation and improvement of the economic base. The struggle in this sphere is therefore protracted and complex as a matter of course. The reason is that social ideas lag behind social existence, and after we use revolutionary violance to smash the old state machine and destroy the old economic base, social ideas reflecting the old system will not vanish immediately. "Physiologically man must naturally 'die,' but the ideological and political factionalists will not die in this way."* "When the old society perishes, you cannot nail the corpse of bourgeois society into a coffin and lower it

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* "The Just Voice of the French Socialists," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXI, p. 334.

into the grave. It disintegrates in our midst; the corpse rots and poisons us."* "The habits of the capitalist system are so deep-seated that it is a difficult and protracted matter to transform people contaminated by such habits over several centuries."** The complete destruction of old social ideas and a break with traditional concepts must be accomplished through a persistent and arduous struggle. At the same time, the ideological struggle "must be carried out by other means"; it is necessary to depend on "prolonged and effective work and the persistent influence of advanced strata."***

In "The State and Revolution" Lenin had already scientifically foreseen the inevitability of this struggle. While making an analysis of the basic antagonism between socialist society and capitalist society, he also analyzed their historical connections. He pointed out that since socialist society just emerged from the capitalist society, naturally "it cannot be entirely free from traditions or traces of capitalism,"+ and there are nothing strange at all that it should bear the birthmarks of the capitalist society from whose womb it emerged. This is because "remnants of the old surviving in the new confront us in life at every step, both in nature and in society."++ We must face these "birthmarks" squarely; we must not sink into utopianism and want to eliminate them overnight, nor must we sink into conservatism and laud them as "sacred things." Rather, in the course of the struggle between the two antagonistic classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and in the course of the development toward communism, we must create all kinds of conditions for their elimination through the dictatorship of the proletariat.

After the October Revolution, Lenin made an even more concrete analysis of the various manifestations of the "traditions or traces of capitalism" in Russia at that time--in the struggle between the two lines within the Party, in the disruptive activities of the Mensheviks

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* "Joint Session of the All-Russia Central Executive Committee, the Moscow Soviet of Workers', Peasants' and Red Army Deputies and the Trade Unions: Report on the Struggle Against Famine," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII, p. 407.

** "The 5th Congress of All-Russia Soviet of Workers', Peasants', Soldiers' and Red Army Deputies," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVII, p. 483.

*** "Greetings to the First All-Russia Social Educational Congress," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 816

\+ "The State and Revolution," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 256.

++ Ibid.

and members of the Social-Revolutionary Party, and in the counter-offensives of the landlord and bourgeois classes against the dictatorship of the proletariat. It must be seen that although the proletariat had seized political power, had expropriated the exploiters and had dealt stunning blows to the old system, old ideas reflecting the old system still existed and stemmed mainly from three directions.

First, the existence of ideas reflecting the economic base of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes. Such rotten ideas are nakedly expressed in an inveterate hatred against the proletarian political party and government and all newborn things; they rot and give off stench among people, polluting the air, poisoning our life, and continuing to shackle people's minds in all possible ways.

Second, revisionists of all descriptions who infiltrated the revolutionary ranks made use of the positions under their control to spread all kinds of bourgeois ideas to oppose the Party's Marxist-Leninist line and the various revolutionary measures taken by the dictatorship of the proletariat. These people "regard the organs of workers' and peasants' education established in new forms as the most convenient places for personal inventions in the philosophical or cultural field; they often pass off the most absurd and contrived things for certain new things and, under the signboard of pure proletarian art and culture, bring out certain supranatural and absurd things"* in order to fool the masses and harm the revolution.

Third, the habitual forces of the petty bourgeoisie engendered by the individual economy are intoxicated with various ideas reflecting the demand for free trade, always want to "have a go" in the revolution, hanker after individual labor, distrust the public economy, dislike newborn things, and so on and so forth.

The existence of these reactionary, decadent and declining ideas and the force of old habits posed a very serious threat to the dictatorship of the young proletariat at that time, most gravely suffocating, suppressing, harming, tormenting and torturing the proletariat. And the demoralizing activities of small owners were creating the very results the bourgeoisie needed and which tended to restore the bourgeoisie. It is very clear that without carrying out a struggle on the political and ideological fronts, the socialist revolution could not develop, the socialist economic base might disintegrate, and there was the danger of the proletarian political power being lost. For this reason, Lenin warned the whole Party: "Our task is to overcome all the resistance of the capitalists, not only their military and

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* "Greetings to the First All-Russia Social Educational Congress," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 817.

political resistance but also their ideological resistance which is most profound and strongest."* He called on the comrades of the entire Party to take positive action and "carry out tireless struggle" against the remnant poisons of the brutal, filthy and blood-thirsty capitalism, "declaring war against it not once or twice but many times and carrying out a crusade against it."**

To declare war on and carry out an expedition against the remnant poisons of capitalism, the proletariat must exercise a powerful dictatorship. Lenin said: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle--bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative--against the forces and traditions of the old society."*** The dictatorship of the proletariat is the basic guarantee of the sure triumph of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie, of socialism over capitalism. While it is supported by the broad masses of the revolutionary people, it will naturally meet with the resistance of exploiters and the obstruction of the force of old habits. Lenin said: "We will stand up and hang on in this most difficult fight against the force of old habits; we will work with both hands for several years and up to several decades."+ "The fiercer the resistance of the exploiters, the stronger, more resolute, more ruthless and more effective the suppression against them by the exploited. The harder the exploiters try to defend the old things in various ways, the greater becomes the need for the proletariat to learn more quickly to drive its class enemy from their last corner, dig away the old roots of their rule, and remove the fertile soil that can engender (and will engender) the wage slave system, the poverty of the masses and the huge fortunes of the rich."++

Indeed, we have a lot to think about when we study Lenin's "The State and Revolution" and his teachings relevant to strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and look back over the history of

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* "Speech at an All-Russia Work Conference of Political Education Committees of Provincial and County National Education Bureaus," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 369.

** "Let's All Do Grain and Transportation Work!" Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXVIII, p. 419.

*** "'Left-Wing' Communism, An Infantile Disorder," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 200.

\+ "From Moscow-Kazan Subbotniks to All-Russian Subbotniks," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXI, p. 104.

++ "Scared Off by the Destruction of Old Things and Fight for New Things," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, pp. 390-391.

the international communist movement over the past century and particularly in the recent two decades or so. When the Bolsheviks kept to the Marxist-Leninist line, adhered to the dictatorship of the proletariat and launched an attack against the bourgeoisie in the various spheres of the economic base and superstructure, the revolution was developing, the political power was consolidated, and the socialist economy was prospering. But when the Soviet revisionist renegade clique tampered with the Party's Marxist-Leninist line, disrupted the dictatorship of the proletariat, and flashed the green light for all reactionary trends of thought in the ideological sphere, they first of all caused a breach in the realm of the superstructure and then restored capitalism in an all-round manner. The degeneration of the Soviet Union tells us by negative example how important it is for us to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat and particularly to impose an overall dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture, and that this is indeed an important matter bearing on the success or failure of the communist cause.

Summing up the historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and in the course of the struggle against revisionist trends of thought at home and abroad, our great leader Chairman Mao has applied the law of the unity of opposites in studying the classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society. He has answered the question of orientation for the development of the socialist revolution after the basic completion of the socialist transformation in respect to the ownership of the means of production. Basing himself on the principle of integrating the general truth of Marxism-Leninism and concrete practice, he has formulated for us a basic line for the entire historical period of socialism. This line points out: Throughout the considerably long historical period of socialist society, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration, and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism. These contradictions can only be resolved with the theory and practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. For the first time in the history of the international communist movement, Chairman Mao clearly sets forth the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the theory of exercising an all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture, thereby greatly developing Marxism-Leninism.

A most important aspect in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat is to develop in depth the class struggle in the ideological sphere, and this is a vital component part of the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie. Marxism holds that a class is not only an economic but also a political and ideological category, and that classes and class struggle, apart from being expressed in the economic relations between the exploiters and the

exploited, are also expressed in the political and ideological relations between the oppressors and the oppressed, between the rulers and the ruled. Therefore, if we do not use the broom of the proletariat to sweep away the exploiting-class ideas of all shades and colors which are deeply entrenched and if we do not use the proletarian ideology to defeat the bourgeois ideology, then the dictatorship of the proletariat cannot be consolidated, let alone removing any possibility of bourgeois restoration. In this sense, as we say, we will really master all the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on the dictatorship of the proletariat only when we exercise all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie not only in the economic and political fields but also in the entire superstructure including the various spheres of culture and when we continue to develop penetratingly the class struggle in the ideological sphere.

Both during the revolutionary war and after the liberation, Chairman Mao has led the comrades of the entire Party to unfold criticism and struggle against the ideas of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. Particularly through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, which is the continuation and deepening of this great revolution, a profound revolution has been unfolded in the various spheres of the superstructure. As Premier Chou En-lai pointed out in his "Report on the Work of the Government," "In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, our people of all nationalities have unfolded a mass movement to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and thus heightened their awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, and the struggle-criticism-transformation in the superstructure has achieved major successes. The three-in-one revolutionary committees composed of the old, the middle-aged and the young have forged closer links with the masses. Successors to the cause of the proletarian revolution are maturing in large numbers. The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by the model revolutionary theatrical works is developing in depth. The revolution in education and in health work is thriving. The cadres and the workers, peasants, soldiers, students and commercial workers are persevering on the May 7 road. Over a million barefoot doctors are becoming more competent. Nearly ten million school graduates have gone to mountainous and other rural areas. With the participation of workers, peasants and soldiers the Marxist theoretical contingents are expanding. The emergence of all these new things has strengthened the all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the realm of the superstructure, and this further helps consolidate and develop the socialist economic base."

The dictatorship of the proletariat is born in struggle and can only be consolidated and strengthened in struggle. The 4th National People's Congress wrote into the new Constitution "the proletariat must exercise an all-round dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including various spheres of culture." This is a

strategic measure for consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, a clarion call for winning new victories by the dictatorship of the proletariat. It encourages us to adhere to the Party's basic line with still higher revolutionary enthusiasm and still greater revolutionary zeal and to fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through every grassroots unit. We will firmly respond to the call of the 4th National People's Congress, strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and in particular the Marxist doctrine on the dictatorship of the proletariat, continue to develop the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, deep-going and sustained manner, use Marxism to dominate the various spheres of the superstructure including philosophy, history, education, literature, art and jurisprudence, and exercise all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

Lenin said: "World history is consistently heading toward the dictatorship of the proletariat, but the path it is traversing is not a big path flat and straight."* No matter how many struggles there may be in the future and no matter how difficult and hazardous the future journey may be, illuminated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, our cause of the dictatorship of the proletariat will surely be victorious.

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* "The Third International and Its Historical Position," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 812.

The Party's Basic Line Is Our Lifeline

- Notes on studying "The Constitution of the People's Republic of China"

by

LU Pin (吕试)

(Li-shih Yen-chiu /Historical Research/, No. 1, February 20, 1975)

"The Constitution of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 4th National People's Congress is a set of basic general laws for our country, a general charter for the people of the whole country. The promulgation of the new Constitution is a major event in the political life of our people of all nationalities. It has tremendous current and far-reaching historical significance in implementing the Party's basic line, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and persistently continuing the revolution under this dictatorship.

To clearly record this basic line of the Party in legal form is a major development of the new Constitution from the 1954 Constitution.

The new Constitution stipulates in its Preamble: "Socialist society covers a considerably long period. Throughout this historical period, there are classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, there is the danger of capitalist restoration and there is the threat of subversion and aggression by imperialism and social-imperialism." "We must adhere to the basic line and policies of the Communist Party of China for the entire historical period of socialism and persist in continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." This, from the very outset, fully records and reflects the laws of class struggle in the historical period of socialism, the main contradictions in society, the ways and means for resolving these contradictions and other principal aspects relevant to the basic line.

The Party's basic line scientifically reveals the laws governing the historical development of socialist society, gives concentrated expression to the class will of the proletariat and the fundamental interests of the broad masses of the people, and is a basic guarantee for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism. A series of shocking struggles waged by our Party against the various opportunist chieftains over the past 20 years and more can be summed up on one point: to adhere to or change this basic line. It is precisely under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao and under the guidance of the Party's basic line that we have smashed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, won a great victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution and achieved spectacular results in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, thereby consolidating the dictatorship of the

proletariat and accelerating our socialist revolution and construction. Both history and present conditions have proved time and again: When we adhere to the Party's basic line, we will certainly continue to win new victories; when we depart from this basic line, we will suffer setbacks and go astray. As Comrade Chang Ch'un-ch'iao pointed out in his "Report on the Revision of the Constitution," "This basic line is the lifeline of our Party as well as of our country. As long as we uphold it, we shall assuredly be able to overcome all difficulties, defeat enemies at home and abroad and win greater victories. This is the main experience we have gained and also our guiding thought in revising the Constitution."

The historical experience--both positive and negative--of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China and elsewhere shows that "the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything." For the socialist Constitution, as an instrument of the dictatorship of the proletariat, to play its due revolutionary role, the key lies in having a Marxist-Leninist ideological and political line as the guide, backed by the state power under the dictatorship of the proletariat. When the line is correct, the dictatorship of the proletariat will continue to be consolidated and strengthened and the socialist Constitution will play a positive role in both revolution and construction. When the line is wrong, we may lose the political power we have gained and the socialist Constitution will be no more than a piece of paper. After the Khrushchev-Brezhnev renegade clique usurped the Party and state leadership in the Soviet Union, it pushed a counter-revolutionary revisionist line of "three-reconciliations and two-wholeness," resulting in the general restoration of capitalism and the degeneration of the socialist system under the dictatorship of the proletariat. The Soviet Socialist Constitution formulated under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin existed in name and not in fact. This is a painful historical lesson.

"Historical experience merits attention." On the basis of summing up both positive and negative historical experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat and particularly the historical lessons drawn from the restoration of capitalism by Soviet revisionism, Chairman Mao has formulated for us a correct Marxist-Leninist line and used it as the guiding thought, which has been written into our new Constitution. This will insure that our Party and state will never change their color and give the new Constitution a correct orientation and strong vitality. Lenin pointed out: "If the will is that of the state, it should be expressed in the laws formulated for the organs of state power; otherwise, the word 'will' is meaningless air vibration." ("The Stand of Contradiction") The new Constitution places the Party's basic line in a concrete context and makes it a criterion to be observed by state organs and every citizen. This behooves our people of all nationalities to recognize the danger of capitalist restoration on the plane of the fate of the state, to remain sober all the time, and raise their initiative to carry out and defend the Party's basic line; it helps organize the hundreds of millions of the masses of people throughout

the country to participate in the great struggle to combat and prevent revisionism and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and insure that China will forever advance along the path indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

The theoretical basis and departure point of the Party's basic line is a recognition of the fact that in socialist society the productive forces and the relations of production, the economic base and the superstructure, are at once compatible with and contradictory to each other. This basic social contradiction is given concentrated reflection in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. That is why, in adhering to the Party's basic line, we must persist in the class struggle and correctly understand and handle the questions of class contradictions and class struggle. The Preamble of the new Constitution says: "We should carry on the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment." The struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines is reflected in all the articles of the Constitution. This is a scientific synthesis of the basic theory and basic practice of our Party over the past two decades and more, and a correct reflection of the objective laws of socialist society. We can correctly understand and consciously implement the new Constitution only by taking class and line struggles as the key link.

The core of the Party's basic line is the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which is the quintessence of the Marxist theory of the state. Lenin pointed out: "Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat." ("The State and Revolution") Basing himself on the basic Marxist-Leninist principle and the historical experience of proletarian dictatorship, Chairman Mao has further pointed out explicitly: "Throughout the socialist period there are classes and class struggle. This class struggle is protracted and complex and sometimes may even become very acute. Our tool of dictatorship should be strengthened, not weakened." Even more so, on the plane of the basic line, he has called on the whole Party and the people of the whole country to fulfill the basic task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through every grassroots unit. He points out: "Unite for one purpose, that is, the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat."

The great historical mission shouldered by the dictatorship of the proletariat is to destroy all classes and prepare the conditions for the transition to communism. Consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat is a basic task given the new Constitution by the Party's basic line. On one occasion, Lenin stated: "Upon seizing political power, the working class, like any other class, must master and preserve its political power and consolidate it by changing the system of ownership and enforcing a new constitution." ("The 9th Congress of the Russian Communist (B) Party. Speech on the Problem of Economic Construction") China's new Constitution stipulates: "The

People's Republic of China is a socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the working class and based on the alliance of workers and peasants." "The Communist Party of China is the core of leadership of the whole Chinese people. The working class exercises leadership over the state through its vanguard, the Communist Party of China." These stipulations are based on conclusions the Chinese people have drawn from more than a century of historical experience; they represent the crystallization of the experience of the struggle between the two classes and the two lines since the promulgation of the 1954 Constitution. The new Constitution highly generalizes these basic experiences, which are written into its "General Principles," clearly elucidating the class essence of our state and the positions of various classes in the state, pointing out the leadership of the Communist Party over the dictatorship of the proletariat, and providing for the subjects and policies for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Hence, the Constitution adheres to the principle and stand of the Marxist theory on the dictatorship of the proletariat, and is clearly demarcated from such fallacies as Confucius' and Mencius' "rule of virtue" and "benevolent government" and the Soviet revisionist renegade clique's "state of the whole people."

Stalin said: "The proletariat needs a party not merely for the sake of gaining the dictatorship, but what is more important, for the sake of preserving the dictatorship, consolidating and expanding it in order to secure a complete victory of socialism." ("The Foundations of Leninism") The Party must exercise leadership in everything--this is a basic principle for the organization and activity of state organs of proletarian dictatorship. In accordance with Chairman Mao's suggestion that the state structure be changed and that no chairman of the state be installed, the new Constitution makes a major revision of the part of the 1954 Constitution concerning the "structure of the state." It stipulates: "The National People's Congress is the highest organ of state power under the leadership of the Communist Party of China." Moreover, it stipulates that the Premier of the State Council and the members of the State Council are to be appointed and removed on the proposal of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Local people's congresses at various levels and their permanent organs, the local revolutionary committees at various levels, must carry out their work under the unified leadership of the Party committees at the corresponding levels. In this way, state organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country--from the central to the local, in the east, west, south, north and central--are all placed under the Party's absolute leadership and form a complete system. Besides, the new Constitution also stipulates: "The Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China commands the country's armed forces." This directly places the Chinese People's Liberation Army--the strong pillar of the dictatorship of the proletariat--and other armed forces of the whole nation under the Party's absolute leadership, thus giving profound expression to the principle "the Party commands the gun." This is determined by the class nature of the proletarian army and the great political tasks it shoulders. These amendments and stipulations

have gone a long way toward strengthening the Party's leadership over the state and benefiting the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Party's basic line also sets the Party's general policy. This general policy is the basis for the various specific principles and policies of the Party and the state. The new Constitution stipulates: "We should correctly distinguish contradictions among the people from those between ourselves and the enemy and correctly handle them." Its spirit and substance lies in the need to clearly distinguish between the enemy and ourselves, hit at the enemy, protect the people, impose a dictatorship on the enemy, practice democracy among the people, mobilize all positive factors, unite with all forces that can be united with, and isolate to the maximum and strike at a small handful of the most stubborn class enemies so as to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and continue to expand the socialist positions. To impose a dictatorship on the enemy and practice democracy among the people--these two aspects complement each other. It is impossible to safeguard the democratic rights of the people without imposing a dictatorship over the enemy; "it is impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and secure the state power without practicing broad democracy among the people."

To impose a dictatorship on the enemy is a method for resolving the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves, and a basic means of vanquishing the class enemies at home and abroad. Chairman Mao points out: "What is this dictatorship for? Its first function is to suppress the reactionary classes and elements and those exploiters in our country who resist the socialist revolution, to suppress those who try to wreck our socialist construction." "The second function of this dictatorship is to protect our country from subversion and possible aggression by external enemies." The new Constitution reaffirms: "The state safeguards the socialist system, suppresses all treasonable and counter-revolutionary activities and punishes all traitors and counter-revolutionaries." "The state deprives the landlords, rich peasants, reactionary capitalists and other bad elements of political rights for specified periods of time according to law, and at the same time provides them with the opportunity to earn a living so that they may be reformed through labor and become law-abiding citizens supporting themselves by their own labor." This clearly and singularly directs the spearhead of the dictatorship against a small handful of class enemies at home and abroad, a demonstration of the huge power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. At the same time, the new Constitution stipulates: "The task of the armed forces of the People's Republic of China is to safeguard the achievements of the socialist revolution and socialist construction, to defend the sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the state, and to guard against subversion and aggression by imperialism, social-imperialism and their lackeys ." "It is the lofty duty of every citizen to defend the motherland and resist aggression." In the present international situation, at a time when factors of both revolution and war are growing, these stipulations are of more specially vital significance.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is the dictatorship of the masses. The dictatorship of the proletariat calls for, on the one hand, a dictatorship over a small handful of class enemies and, on the other, the practice of democratic centralism among the broad masses of the people. Without democracy, it is impossible to get the masses aroused to action; without the supervision of the masses, it is impossible to exercise effective dictatorship over and carry out effective transformation of the reactionary classes and elements, the class enemies will continue to make trouble, and there is the possibility of restoration. At the same time, it is impossible to have a high degree of centralization without full democracy just as it is impossible to build socialism without a high degree of centralization. The new Constitution stipulates: "The people's congresses at all levels and all other organs of state practice democratic centralism." It guarantees that the broad masses of the people, with the workers, peasants and soldiers as the mainstay, shall take part in the administration of the state and truly become masters of the house. It also provides for the various democratic rights of citizenship, particularly the rights of various fraternal nationalities and women. It stipulates that the state protects the right of the masses of the people to use the new forms of carrying out the socialist revolution such as speaking out freely, airing views fully, holding great debates and writing big-character posters. These stipulations will surely help "create a political situation in which there are both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness, and so help consolidate the leadership of the Communist Party of China over the state and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat." In addition, the new Constitution, in accordance with Chairman Mao's proposal, adds the citizens' freedom to strike. This stipulation is also imperatively necessary for combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With a view to adhering to the Party's basic line and consolidating and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is also necessary to unfold a socialist revolution in the realm of the superstructure and to pay attention to solving problems concerning the relations of production. Although the rule of the exploiting classes has been overthrown, they have been deprived of the means of production and the old economic base has been destroyed, yet "invariably, remnants of old ideas reflecting the old system remain in people's minds for a long time, and they do not easily give way." The overthrown reactionary classes always use the old ideas and their agents within the Party to have a contest of strength with the proletariat in a vain attempt to wreck the socialist economic base, subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. That is why Chairman Mao points out: "The proletariat must exercise all-round dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the various spheres of culture." The new Constitution reflects this brilliant idea in legal form--a move that is of extremely vital significance in sticking to the Party's basic line, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing capitalist restoration. We must abide by Chairman Mao's instructions

and the stipulations of the new Constitution, carry on the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius in a widespread, penetrating and sustained manner, and use Marxism to control all spheres of the superstructure.

The promulgation of the new Constitution is a stunning blow to the reactionary forces at home and abroad. In implementing the new Constitution, therefore, we are sure to meet with the opposition and sabotage by the class enemies at home and abroad. "The rights gained by the people must not be lost lightly but must be protected by battle." The new Constitution is a product of the great victories won by the Party's basic line, the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius; at the same time, it is a militant program for the Chinese people to carry on the revolution. It will surely arouse the socialist revolutionary enthusiasm of the people of the whole country and speed up the pace of socialist construction. We must stick to the Party's basic line, seriously carry out and bravely safeguard the new Constitution, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

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A Decisive Historical Change

- In commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Tsun-i Meeting

by

K'un Chün (昆骏) and Shih Ta (时达)

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Forty years have elapsed since the Chinese Communist Party held an enlarged meeting of its Political Bureau in Tsun-i, Kweichow in January 1935.

The Tsun-i Meeting marked a decisive historical change in the course of the development of the Chinese revolution. In the 14 years before the Tsun-i Meeting, Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line had pushed the vigorous development of the Chinese revolution, but it was many times supplanted by the "Left" and Right opportunist lines, and the revolution suffered repeated setbacks, resulting in several alternations between high tides and low ebbs. The Tsun-i Meeting put an end to the domination of the opportunist line in the whole Party, reaffirmed the correctness of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, established Chairman Mao's leadership over the whole Party, and shifted the Party's line onto the Marxist-Leninist track. From that time onward, the great ship of the Chinese revolution had been sailing along the lane indicated by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, breaking the stormy waves and steaming forward from victory to victory.

Chairman Mao points out: "To lead the revolution to victory, a political party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization." ("On Contradiction") When we stick to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and uphold revolutionary unity, we shall march ever forward with success. This is the most fundamental historical experience of the Tsun-i Meeting.

Two Lines, Two Kinds of Results

The question of line is a basic question of the Party's leadership over the revolution, for it determines the road and orientation of the revolution. In the dark China of the past, the advance or retreat, success or failure of the Chinese revolution hinged on whether it was possible to correctly solve the following questions: Whither the revolution? Who should lead it? Whom should we rely on? Whom should we unite with? And whom should we attack? Basing himself on the principle of integrating Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution and a meticulous investigation of the political and economic conditions of the various classes in Chinese society as well as a scientific analysis of the historical features and laws of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao correctly solved these questions and formulated a general

line for the new-democratic revolution. This general line illuminated the course of the Chinese revolution like a beacon light on the high seas. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the People's Great Revolution led by the proletariat developed vigorously from 1924 to 1927, shaking the whole nation. However, by the late stages of this revolution, Ch'en Tu-hsiu's Right capitulationist line took over the ruling position in the leading bodies of the Party, and the result was that the fruit of this great revolution was lost.

After the failure of the First Revolutionary Civil War, Chairman Mao, persevering in the general line of the new-democratic revolution and creatively applying Marxism-Leninism, led the Autumn Harvest uprisings and the march toward Chingkangshan under extremely trying conditions, thereby opening up the road of "workers' and peasants' armed occupation," using the rural areas to encircle the cities and seizing political power by force of arms. In the course of the war carried on by the Red Army and the struggle to build up base areas, Chairman Mao again formulated a line for the agrarian revolution, a line for Party building, and a line for building political power. He also devoted a great deal of energy to studying military affairs and set forth the principle of army building for the people's army and strategic and tactical principles for the people's war, thus forming a complete Marxist military line.

When the Party's line is correct, we will have everything. Under the guidance of Chairman Mao's correct line, the single spark on the Chingkangshan quickly spread like a prairie fire. A series of battles won in the revolutionary war successfully smashed Chiang Kai-shek's four counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression" campaigns. Becoming stronger as it kept on fighting, the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army developed into a force of 300,000 men, while the membership of the Party throughout the country also increased from 10,000 men after the failure of the Great Revolution to 300,000 men. The revolutionary base areas kept on expanding; in the dozen base areas in more than ten provinces of the country, workers' and peasants' democratic governments led by the proletariat were founded. Within the revolutionary base areas, the vast masses of the workers and peasants smashed the heavy chains which had bound them for centuries, took up guns and followed the Party, bravely fighting for the defense and development of Red political power. The Chinese revolution once again was restored and developed with vigor. The situation was excellent.

When the Party's line is wrong, we will lose everything. During the period of the Second Revolutionary Civil War, Ch'u Ch'iu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming one after another usurped the leadership of the Party Central Committee. On three occasions they pushed the "Left" opportunist line, causing the Chinese revolution grave damage. In particular, the most serious harm was done by Wang Ming's line which had ruled the Party for as long as four years. Wang Ming styled himself as a "hundred percent Bolshevik," while in fact he was consistently opposed to the integration of Marxism-Leninism with the practice of the Chinese revolution. He was totally ignorant of China's past and current conditions and the features

and laws of the Chinese revolution. He confused the boundary line between the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution and opposed the general line for China's new democratic revolution. Since he neither investigated nor studied, he did not understand the workers and the peasants, did not understand war, and did not smack of the Marxist flavor in the slightest.

Posing as a supreme ruling, Wang Ming imposed his erroneous line on the entire Party. Where his line was pushed, losses were suffered. In the course of the 5th campaign against "encirclement and suppression" that began in the winter of 1933, Wang Ming and the other opportunists went all out to oppose a whole set of operational principles for active defense proposed by Chairman Mao--such as "luring the enemy in deep," "concentrating the military forces," "mobile warfare" and "battles of annihilation," and they vilified these principles as "guerrilla-ism." They boasted: "The 5th campaign against encirclement and suppression is a decisive engagement between the revolutionary road and the colonial road," and so they adopted "new principles" for passive defense such as "keeping the enemy outside the national gate," "defense along the entire front," "dividing the troops along six routes," and "short swift thrusts." At this time, the careerist and schemer Lin Piao actively followed Wang Ming's line for passive defense. During the 5th campaign against "encirclement and suppression," he opposed Chairman Mao's correct policy of concentrating military forces and luring the enemy in deep. He said nonsensically that luring the enemy in deep "is no longer a reliable and effective method," and called for "building fortified blockhouses of a new type," "setting blockhouses against blockhouses," dividing the troops for defense, launching "short swift thrusts," and "fighting decisive engagements at one stroke" at the first line so as to fight it out with the enemy equipped with superior weapons. In the course of war, they feared the enemy as if they were tigers. They did not dare to attack the enemy in his rear--a thing which they could originally do with advantage, nor did they dare to boldly lure the enemy in deep and then wipe him out then and there. As a result, in spite of the army and civilians in the base areas fighting bravely, the war was fought with increasing difficulty and the base areas were getting smaller and smaller. The Red Army was forced to retreat and embark on the Long March.

Opportunism led to the restoration of counter-revolution and caused the heads of countless revolutionaries to roll. Most of the base areas that were built after bloody fighting were lost, and the revolutionary forces built up after 7-8 years of arduous work were mostly broken up once more. Particularly in the early days of the Long March, Wang Ming's line gave rise to panicky flightism. To cover the retreat of the huge and swollen organs of the rear, the main force units of the Red Army were deployed along the two flanks like two long columns and had to fight desperately. Although they broke through four enemy blockade lines, they had to pay a very high price. The 80,000-man Central Red Army was reduced to 30,000 men by the eve of the Tsun-i Meeting. Both the Party and the Red Army were in an extremely precarious situation.

Chairman Mao points out: "The revolutionary party and the revolutionary people can temper themselves and mature only after repeatedly going through both positive and negative education, through comparison and contrast, and only thus will there be a guarantee for victory." Setbacks in revolutionary struggle are of a dual nature. The opportunist line creates serious consequences for the revolution, but it also exposes the features of the phoney Marxists, thereby educating the vast numbers of Party members and cadres and enabling them to sum up their experience and lessons correctly. After both positive and negative education, the Tsun-i Meeting reaffirmed the correctness of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line--but at how great a price!

Advance Under Mao Tse-tung's Banner

The greatest historical exploit performed by the Tsun-i Meeting was to establish the leading position of our great leader Chairman Mao in the whole Party and in the whole army, thereby bringing about a change in the Party's line. Lenin pointed out: "Historically, no class has been able to gain the ruling position unless it elects its political leaders and advanced representatives who are good at organizing and leading the movement." ("The Urgent Tasks of Our Movement")

Leaders of the proletarian revolution are born in the storms of revolutionary struggle; they are recommended and supported by the masses in struggle. The Marxist-Leninist line formed by Chairman Mao in the protracted revolutionary struggle had a solid mass foundation in the Party and the Red Army. The large numbers of Party members and cadres personally participated in the revolutionary movement which developed vigorously under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; they also witnessed with their own eyes the serious harm done by the erroneous lines, particularly Wang Ming's line, to the revolution. At a critical juncture of the Chinese revolution, they urgently asked Chairman Mao to return to the leading post in the Party and the Red Army.

After an acute struggle between the two lines, the Tsun-i Meeting dismissed the opportunists from their leading posts, reorganized the Secretariat and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Central Committee, established Chairman Mao's leadership over the whole Party and the whole army and put an end to the domination of Wang Ming's line in the Party Central Committee, thereby realizing the common wishes of the whole Party and the whole army. As the news spread, the large numbers of commanders and fighters were so pleased that they passed it along to one another and hailed in unison: "Advance victoriously under Mao Tse-tung's banner!" This was a great victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, a great victory for Marxism-Leninism in China. This was a decisive historical change. As Chairman Mao said, not until the Tsun-i Meeting "did the Party definitely take the road of bolshevization." ("Introducing The Communist") Since then, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line has always taken the leading position in the whole Party. Although the Chinese Communist Party had again gone through five major line struggles, the opportunist line was no longer able to dominate the whole Party but could

only create nuisance. The Chinese revolution, travelling along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, continued to win new victories. The Tsun-i Meeting told us: Only Mao Tsetung Thought can save China.

The Tsun-i Meeting was "mainly a fight against opportunism in the military sphere and gave top priority to the question of war, and this was a reflection of the war conditions of the time." ("Problems of War and Strategy") At that time the military questions were the most urgent questions deciding the fate of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. The Meeting adopted the "Resolution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China Concerning the Summing Up of the Fight against the Enemy's Five 'Encirclement and Suppression' Campaigns," pointing out that the basic cause of the failure of the 5th campaign against "encirclement and suppression" was the execution of Wang Ming's strategic line of passive defense. This line manifested itself first as adventurism in attack and then as conservatism in defense and finally flightism in retreat. The Resolution took the view that the line of passive defense was "basically wrong" and was essentially "an expression of Right opportunism." The Tsun-i Meeting reaffirmed Chairman Mao's strategic line of active defense and realized a "resolute and swift change" from positional warfare to mobile warfare. This change in line enabled the Red Army to gain a new life.

"The strong pass and the long path were formerly inaccessible; now you can enter and take a stroll at your leisurely pace." After the Tsun-i Meeting, the Central Red Army, under Chairman Mao's wise command, quickly reversed its former passive position and adopted strategy and tactics of mobile warfare noted for their high degree of flexibility. Surrounded, pursued and intercepted by several hundred thousand enemy troops, it fought from place to place and in a round-about way, making a feint to the east while striking in the west. It fought valiantly over the vast regions bordering Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichow, deceiving the enemy, keeping him on the run and trouncing him here and there. At the same time, in such mobile operations it sought the favorable moments to strike and wipe out the enemy in large numbers. For instance, in the Tsun-i campaign, the Red Army, after crossing the Ch'ihshui River for a second time, fought continuously and, taking the enemy by surprise, launched a fierce attack on the Loushan Pass and re-captured Tsun-i, wiping out nearly 20 enemy regiments at one stroke and winning the first great victory for the strategic retreat as well as gaining the initiative in the war. After the Tsun-i campaign, the Red Army closed in on Kweiyang and thrust toward Kunming. Then it turned around and headed toward the north, adroitly crossing the Chinsha River and leaving the enemy far away behind, thus smashing the enemy's counter-revolutionary plan to wipe out our army in the regions bordering Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichow. This made it possible for the Party and the Red Army to turn danger into security, preserving and tempering the backbone forces of the revolution, overcoming numerous difficulties and hazards and victoriously completing the epic 25,000-li Long March. The shining victories the Red Army won in the war after the Tsun-i Meeting amply testified to Chairman Mao's

competent leadership and revolutionary line and to the highly developed Marxist art of military command, providing the basic assurance for the victory of the Chinese people's revolution.

But scarcely had the Tsun-i Meeting ended than the careerist and conspirator Lin Piao, who had advocated "shoft swift thrusts" and actively followed Wang Ming's line, jumped out to oppose Chairman Mao's leadership and military line.

He was against Chairman Mao's correct policy concerning flexible operations in regions bordering Szechwan, Yunnan and Kweichow. At that time, the enemy was at the height of his arrogance. Several hundred thousand enemy troops were converging on us along many routes. The Red Army had to concentrate its forces to a high degree and act swiftly if it were to seize the initiative and find the opportunity to annihilate the enemy. The Military Commission had sent a number of telegrams to Lin Piao, instructing him to concentrate his forces toward Chahsi (Weihsin). Lin Piao, however, ignored the order again and again and, on his own authority, moved his troops farther away from the Military Commission and the main force units. It was only after Chairman Mao and the Military Commission of the Party Central Committee severely criticized him that he grudgingly moved his troops toward Chahsi, but the overall strategic operations of the Red Army were delayed. After the Central Red Army amassed in Chahsi, the Military Commission decided to turn around and to move toward the east so as to swiftly destroy the enemy at the Loushan Pass, recapture Tsun-i and open up the theater of war. But fearing the enemy like a tiger, Lin Piao exaggerated the difficulties and hesitated in starting an attack against the enemy south of the Loushan Pass. And when the other main force units of the Red Army had taken the Loushan Pass, he again resisted orders and refused to pursue the fleeing enemy and develop the victory.

What was even more serious was that Lin Piao not only opposed Chairman Mao's operational policies but went further and opposed Chairman Mao's leadership over the whole Party and the whole army. He viciously accused Chairman Mao's flexible strategy and tactics of "ruining the army." In league with P'eng Te-huai, he plotted to wrest power from Chairman Mao and proclaimed that the Red Army should be "commanded" by them. He even went so wild as to write a letter to the Party Central Committee, asking it to dismiss Chairman Mao from his post. This was a despicable performance by Lin Piao in his attempt to usurp Party leadership and power, to split the Party and the Red Army at a critical juncture when the Red Army, commanded by Chairman Mao, was heading from setback toward victory.

At every important moment of revolutionary change, Lin Piao invariably made Right-deviating mistakes and resorted to double-dealing tactics, deceiving the Party and the people with false phenomena. Harboring the counter-revolutionary design of usurping the Party and the army, he covered up for a long time his anti-Party activities both before and after the Tsun-i Meeting, and attempted to describe himself as a "hero" opposing Wang Ming's line. As historical facts show, this was nothing but a lie told with an ulterior motive.

Unity Is Victory

The great victory of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line at the Tsun-i Meeting laid the foundation for the great revolutionary unity of the whole Party and the whole Party--a revolutionary unity which was realized, consolidated and developed in the acute class and line struggles and which served as the basic guarantee for the triumph of the revolutionary cause.

All opportunist chieftains are splittists, and political opportunism inevitably leads to organizational splittism. From Ch'en Tu-hsiu's patriarchical system and abolitionism, Chü Ch'iu-pai's punitiveness, Li Li-san's "one single voice" to Wang Ming's "brutal struggle, merciless blows," a splittist line was followed. With "I as the core," they built mountain strongholds, set up factions and rejected and attacked all those who opposed them. Those who were with them would thrive; those who were against them would perish. Their aim was to attain their criminal purpose of pushing an opportunist line. Their splittist line gravely undermined the Party's unity and solidarity and did considerable harm to China's revolutionary cause.

Chairman Mao sets a brilliant example of adhering to Marxist revolutionary principle and upholding the Party's unity and solidarity. When the opportunist line, like a torrential flood, was again and again pounding away at and harming the Party's cause, Chairman Mao never failed to wage an uncompromising struggle against it in a fearless spirit of going against the tide, without fear of being isolated or attacked; and in the course of struggle he sought to attain unity and solidarity of the whole Party. Standing fast to Marxist revolutionary principle, Chairman Mao has for a long time gone deep among the realities of the revolution and conducted investigations and study. In his splendid writings such as the Resolution of the Kut'ien Meeting, "Oppose Book Worship" and the article on the rural survey, he profoundly exposed and criticized the errors of the opportunist line and its ideological source. These struggles of principle formed the ideological basis for achieving the Party's unity. Chairman Mao has unreserved trust in the masses, relies on them and maintains close ties with them. In the course of struggle he patiently convinces and educates the vast numbers of Party members and cadres in the need to discern the correct and erroneous lines and to unite on the basis of the correct line. The revolutionary unity realized at the Tsun-i Meeting was precisely a result of Chairman Mao's protracted fight against the opportunist line.

The Tsun-i Meeting sternly criticized the errors of the opportunist line in respect to organizational policy, pointing out that Wang Ming and the others like him abolished the collective leadership, suppressed democracy, developed punitiveness, and did not make the slightest self-criticism, thereby causing an extreme anomaly in Party life. With the largeness of mind of a proletarian statesman and persevering in the consistent policy of uniting the vast majority, Chairman Mao not only united with those comrades who supported and carried out the correct line

but also patiently educated and united with those who had committed mistakes in line and helped them correct their mistakes and continue to make revolution. As a result, the large numbers of Party members and cadres were united together under Chairman Mao's leadership. This was a mark of the Party's vigorous growth. As Chairman Mao pointed out: During the period when Wang Ming's line was ruling, "serious errors of principle were made in the Party's policy concerning cadres and organization, errors which showed themselves in the tendency toward sectarianism, in punitiveness and in the policy of ideological struggle carried to excess." "These errors, too, were corrected at the Tsun-i Meeting, and the Party was thus able to make the turn to a correct cadres policy and to correct organizational principles." ("The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War")

Unity is the guarantee for victory. After the Tsun-i Meeting, although the Red Army was reduced numerically compared with the early days of the Long March, the change in line and the unity of the whole Party and the whole army provided the basic conditions for vanquishing the enemy. Under Chairman Mao's wise leadership, we victoriously broke through the encirclement by several hundred thousand troops under Chiang Kai-shek, freed ourselves from their pursuit and interception, and successfully smashed Chang Kuo-t'ao's splittist line during the Long March. In the summer of 1935, after the First and Fourth Regional Armies met in western Szechwan, the careerist and schemer Chang Kuo-t'ao, sticking to Right splittism, opposed Chairman Mao's leadership and political line for moving north to resist the Japanese aggressors, thereby undermining the revolutionary unity attained by the whole Party and the whole army after the Tsun-i Meeting. During the Long March, Chang Kuo-t'ao, resorting to counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics, "obeyed orders publicly and disobeyed them secretly, spoke of one thing and meant another, said nice things to your face and made trouble behind your back." Thinking that he had more men and more guns, he vainly attempted to gobble up the Central Red Army, usurp the supreme leadership of the Party and the Red Army, and harm Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee. After his plot fell flat, he set up a separate Central Committee, split the Party and the Red Army, and dreamed of building a kingdom in the remote regions of the southwest or in the national minority areas of the northwest. However, Chairman Mao's revolutionary line had gained general support and the Party's unity after the Tsun-i Meeting was solid. Chairman Mao's and the Party Central Committee's correct leadership and resolute struggle and the awakening and resistance of the large numbers of Party members and cadres in the Red Army accounted for the complete bankruptcy of Chang Kuo-t'ao's splittist conspiracy. The First, Second and Fourth Regional Armies arrived at northern Shensi one after another, "so, the whole Red Army assembled together and the whole Party was still more united for a brave struggle to resist the Japanese invaders." (Ibid.)

At the critical moment when Chang Kuo-t'ao was trying to divide the Party and the Red Army, Lin Piao defended him, saying nonsensically that Chang Kuo-t'ao's line of retreat and escapism was "correct." He

asked: If Chang Kuo-t'ao "had chosen the wrong line, why did so many people follow him? And how many men do we have?" Conspirators shared the same views in their ambition to oppose the Party. They all thought that if they had more men and more guns, they could use the gun to command the Party, claim independence from the Party, and take control of part of the territory where they could become "uncrowned kings." Lin Piao had engaged in machinations within the Party for several decades. The higher his position, the more ambitious he became and the greater his desire to carry out his splittist conspiracy--culminating in his plot to stage a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat, usurp Party and state power, assassinate our great leader Chairman Mao and set up a separate Central Committee. However, on the basis of Mao Tsetung Thought, the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities across the country formed a unity firm as a rock and never approved of a split. No conspiracy to divide the Party, the army and the state could succeed. Chang Kuo-t'ao finally ended up being a lonely man, fell into the arms of counter-revolution and became a disgraceful renegade and enemy agent. Under the conditions of the proletarian dictatorship, Lin Piao, stepping into the shoes of Chang Kuo-t'ao, suffered a still more bitter defeat. Finally, he had to flee in a hurry and defect to the revisionists in betrayal of the country, and crashed to death, becoming a renegade and traitor whose name will be cursed for ten thousand years.

The revolutionary torrent is irresistible, and the Tsun-i Meeting will shine forever. The class and line struggles push history forward. Historical experience shows that every time our Party went through a major line struggle and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line triumphed over the opportunist line, the whole Party would become more solidly united and the revolutionary situation would develop tremendously. The establishment of the rule of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line in the whole Party and the revolutionary unity of the whole Party and the whole army after the Tsun-i Meeting accelerated the progress of the Chinese revolution, bringing about a high tide in the great anti-Japan, national democratic revolution. For the past 40 years, Chairman Mao has been leading the whole Party and the people of the whole country to win the great victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions and particularly in the great proletarian cultural revolution. In the last-named revolution, the Chinese people have again gone through two major line struggles and, under the leadership of the Party Central Committee led by Chairman Mao, crushed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. With Chairman Mao's revolutionary line prevailing over the counter-revolutionary revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the great unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country has never been so consolidated. The great movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius has brought about further development of this great revolutionary unity. The struggle has consolidated unity, and unity has developed the victories. This is the law of revolutionary development. At the present time, under the guidance of the Party's basic line, the Chinese people, in high spirits and with a strong militant will, are striving to fulfill

the fighting tasks set forth by the 4th National People's Congress, further develop the excellent situation, consolidate and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, and win new victories in socialist revolution and socialist construction.

Let us seriously study the historical experience of the Tsun-i Meeting, closely rally around the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao, and march triumphantly along the path indicated by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought!

* * *

Scientific Experiment Promotes Development of Petroleum Production

by

Scientific Research Department, Battle Headquarters, Shengli Oilfield

(K'o-hsüeh Shih-yen /Scientific Experiment/, No. 1, January 1975)

Guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and driven by the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, Shengli Oilfield has been carrying on its battle for ten years, persevering in the policy of "maintaining independence, keeping the initiative in our own hands and achieving regeneration through our own efforts" and holding aloft the banner of the "Constitution of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." It has penetratingly developed the mass movement to "learn from Tach'ing in industry," extensively aroused the masses, energetically unfolded mass technical innovation and scientific experimental activities, thereby promoting the development of production and raising the technical level of the oilfield.

Drill Bits Continuously Improved, and the Penetration Depth Gradually Exceeds Two Thousand Meters

Following the oil battle at Tach'ing, the battle at Shengli Oilfield began in 1965. As work developed very fast and the number of drilling machines increased quickly by several times, the supply of scraper drill bits used for well drilling fell short of the demand. Moreover, these bits were unsuited to the characteristics of the strata of the oilfield. It was therefore necessary to produce a large quantity of high-quality scraper drill bits. This was a problem that had to be solved urgently in the battle for oil exploration at that time.

In face of difficulties, should we "achieve regeneration through our own efforts" and "undertake arduous struggle" or stretch out our hands upward and "wait for, rely on or demand help"? This is not merely an economic problem but, more importantly, a big problem of whether or not to carry out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.

Then we organized a three-man drill bit breakthrough team made up of a welder, a technician and an engineer. Completely relying on their own strength and resources, and without asking for any outside help, they set up a provisional workshed and armed with welding tools started their work on producing scraper drill bits experimentally.

To solve this problem, the comrades of the breakthrough team conducted a series of investigations, visiting every drilling team on the oil site. Through careful analysis they discovered that the hard alloy welded on the cutting edge (rotating teeth) of the original drill bits was pitted or pock-marked, and that those parts that were not covered with hard alloy suffered from acute abrasion.

Fig. 1 Scraper drill bit

The trio then proceeded to find ways to improve this kind of drill bit. By covering the cutting edge with a coat of very hard and abrasion-resistant alloy, they succeeded in making Shengli Oilfield's first batch of scraper-drilling bits. During the experiment, the break-through team collaborated with the well-drilling workers, working and living at the oil site. They detected and analyzed problems on the spot, taking appropriate measures. In the end, they succeeded in making a drill bit penetrate over a thousand meters deep.

This success strengthened their confidence and determination to blaze the trail for the revolution, and they set a new target of two thousand meters.

Though the drill could now reach one thousand meters, the abrasion was still quite serious. For some drill bits, most of the hard alloy welded to the cutting edge was torn off. Why was it that the hard alloy in some parts came off whereas in other parts they remained intact? An analysis showed that the main reason was that the hard alloy

pieces were welded on to the cutting edge by hand and in manual welding the temperature was not even. The problem was solved by using the copper immersion welding technology after learning from Tach'ing's experience.

On the choice of material, chrome-molybdenum steel was used for the cutting edge, and hard alloy of higher strength was used for the nozzle. In the course of designing, the structure of the drill bit was also improved to make it simple, easy to manufacture, great in strength, strong in abrasion-resistance, and more efficient in breaking the rock.

At the same time, well drilling measures were strengthened, increasing the drilling pressure and the displacement of mud used in washing the well and increasing the drilling speed to make the drill bit penetrate two thousand meters deep.

The great proletarian cultural revolution called forth the revolutionary spirit of the technical personnel. The two-thousand-meter record did not satisfy them, and they went on exposing and analyzing contradictions, continuing to make revolution and advance.

The surface of the cutting edge of the drill bit welded with the copper immersion method was often damaged by the stream of mud ejected from the nozzle of the drill. The copper layer in the nozzle was also rubbed off by the jet of mud, exposing the inner layer of hard alloy. As most of the hard alloy protruded from the surface of the drill, in most cases it was not worn off by friction but broken off. In order to strengthen the cutting edge, we drilled little holes in the cutting edge and filled them with hard alloy to increase the abrasive resistance of the drill. We did this by making use of the strong points of the alloy-coated one-thousand-meter drill bit and the two-thousand-meter drill bit. In welding, we used new welding material and adopted the automatic-temperature-controlled electric-furnace welding technology, thus increasing the welding intensity. Also, a new steel of higher strength was used to make the cutting edge, thereby pushing mechanical penetration and mechanical drilling speed of the scraper-drill bit to a new level.

Led by the Party and tempered in the great cultural revolution, a batch of advanced collectives emerged from and made contributions to the construction of Shengli Oilfield. On the basis of continuously setting new records, the "3252" Drilling Team, known as a "Iron Man-Type Heroes Team," in 1972 drilled more than 140,000 meters, setting the highest national record, and in 1973 set another high record of over 150,000 meters. It attained the target set by the "Iron Man" Wang Chin-hsi -- "a thousand per day, ten thousand per month, and 150 thousand per year." By then, on the average the monthly drilling speed of each drilling machine was four times that in the early days of the battle. Facts have shown that the basis for any achievement in scientific experiment is the line. With a correct line, we will rise from one level to another.

When Viscosity Is Reduced, Crude Oil Flows Smoothly

In some wells at Shengli, there was a great differential in the viscosity of crude oil, ranging from scores of centipoise to up to a thousand centipoise, with adverse effect on the speed of extraction One of the urgent problems to be solved was how to increase the rate of oil extraction by turning thick oil into thin oil.

Freeing their minds of superstitious and restrictive ideas, the broad masses of oil workers probed to the heart of the problem. Through close observation, they discovered that once wells of thick oil which could not produce normally contained water, oil pumps could, for the most part, function normally. This phenomenon gave them a good idea: Since oil pumps could work normally when there was water in the well shafts, would it not be possible to produce the same effect by injecting hot water into the well by artificial means? Experiments showed that this could be done, and there were marked increases in the output of some wells of thick oil. But as the volume of heat was limited, there were still some wells with thick oil of high viscosity which could not produce normally.

Fig. 2 Showing emulsification in which water encloses oil formed by active agent

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The particular nature of the forms of movement of all things is determined by its own particular contradiction." In appearance, the viscosity of thick oil is high, and its fluidity is low. The main internal cause of this lies in the fact that thick oil contains a large quantity of bitumen and colloid particles. When the body of oil flows, the particles rub against each other and cause great resistance. The effect of temperature on viscosity is the external cause of the low fluidity of thick oil: As the thick oil flows from the bottom to the top of the well, it loses heat on the way; the lower the temperature, the greater the viscosity and the more difficult the flow of oil. Once we found the internal and external causes, the problem could be solved readily. Through analysis, we came to the conclusion that the serious internal friction between bitumen and colloid particles was the principal aspect playing the dominant role in the contradiction. The problem might be solved either by separating the bitumen and colloid components, thus reducing the friction between them,

or by introducing a kind of substance that will help reduce internal friction and decrease flow resistance, thereby lowering viscosity. Practice proved this conception to be correct. On the basis of the results of the numerous laboratory tests, we put a certain amount of active water solution in the oil well, separating bitumen from colloid substance and forming a kind of emulsion in which oil was enclosed in water and which had a certain stability. This transformed the internal friction between bitumen and colloid particles into friction between water particles, and changed crude oil viscosity into water-oil emulsion viscosity. The great decrease in viscosity helped to reduce flow resistance and bring about a great increase in the output of those high-viscosity oil wells.

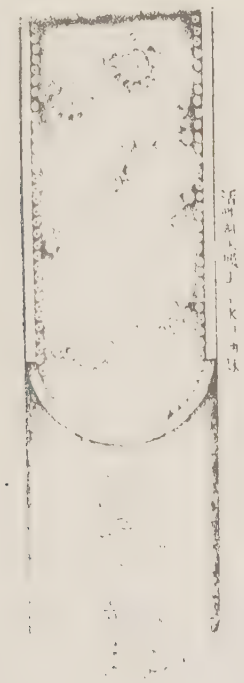


Fig. 3 Showing flow inside tube containing emulsion with water enclosing oil

The scientific practice in lowering viscosity by emulsifying thick oil proves that a correct idea and an achievement in scientific experiment do not drop from the skies and certainly are not innate as Lin Piao claimed, but come from practice. To improve and perfect the results of scientific experiments, there is only one way, and that is through the repetitions of the process of practice, knowledge, practice again, and knowledge again.

Pipeline Corrosion Prevention As the Key Link and Mechanized Operating Line

After crude oil is pumped out of the well, it must be conveyed to the point of destination through pipelines. Therefore, to lay pipelines whose outer wall is coated with an anti-corrosion insulating layer in large numbers, quickly, effectively and economically is an important link to the construction of the oilfield.

As a key link to pipeline construction, the quality of corrosion-resistant insulation is very important. With good anti-corrosion quality, the pipelines may be used over a long period of time; otherwise, the pipelines will suffer from acute corrosion within a year, or, perhaps, several years' time. In mild cases of corrosion, the pipes are pierced with holes; in serious cases, a great number of pipes will have to be replaced altogether, with serious adverse effect on normal production in the oilfield.

In the past, the corrosion prevention process was done on the site through manual labor, consisting of more than ten procedures, plus high labor intensity coupled with intense heat and thick smoke. Working conditions then were terrible and the anti-corrosion quality was poor. Later, some improvements were made in working conditions by preparing anti-corrosion insulation indoor. But there was no way of insuring the quality of this kind of work, as the anti-corrosion insulating layers often suffered from damage while the pipes were being transported to the work site, welded and laid down in the ditch.

With the continuous development of the oilfield construction, there was a growing need for bigger and longer oil pipelines. But corrosion-prevention processing by manual labor and pre-fabrication was far from satisfying the demand. So, a "three-in-one" technical innovation team, composed mainly of workers, was organized in a determined effort to change the backward aspect of pipe anti-corrosion.

Was it easy to mechanize corrosion prevention? At first everyone felt that it was impossible to compress the multi-operational processes and complete them on a mechanized operating line more than one meter long. "To investigate a problem is to solve it." The technical team carried out a number of investigations and researches at the work site units and found that the key to the proposed mechanized production line was the anti-corrosion insulation machine. First they had to concentrate their efforts on tackling this problem.

In foreign corrosion-resistant insulation machines, bitumen is conveyed by means of gear pumps. What should we use? Together with the workers of the pre-fabrication plant, the comrades of the technical reform team conducted a series of analyses and taking the actual conditions into account, found that with gear pumps, much time and energy would be consumed in heating and operating the pumps and sometimes a vacuum formed inside the pump would cause malfunction. Such pumps were not only difficult to operate, but also very unreliable and hard to maintain. Though the gas engine in the foreign corrosion resistant insulation machine was very compact in structure, the operating conditions were so poor that the machine operator had to work in intense heat and smoke. They then decided upon the method of wrapping the oil pipes with polyvinyl chloride film dipped in bitumen with a remote-controlled insulation machine propelled by a motor.

In the beginning, a tube-like frame was used in soaking the polyvinyl chloride film in bitumen. The roll of film was fixed on to the frame -- also made of polyvinyl chloride film dipped in bitumen -- and together they formed a whole which spun around the pipe, while being dipped into the bitumen trough. Soaked with bitumen on both sides, the polyvinyl chloride film, while still in spinning motion, was tapered onto the oil pipe. As there were three spinning frames on the same rotary plane and the temperature of the bitumen was very high, the heat could not escape freely. As a result, there was a great loss of bitumen which dripped off the polyvinyl chloride film, and the corrosion prevention layer on the pipe was reduced in thickness. After several tests, the thickest they could get was three millimeters.

To increase the thickness of the anti-corrosion insulation layer, the old experienced workers came up with the dipper casting method, based on the principle of the "dipper-type water wheel," which draws water out of a well by means of a dipper. But the dipper could only hold a limited amount of bitumen. It was impossible to cast bitumen beneath the pipe, and the layer was still three millimeters thick.

The road of progress is not a straight but a tortuous one. Nineteen experiments were conducted over a period of one year and four months, and still the layer remained three millimeters thick. They had failed to reach the design specifications. In face of the difficulties, some of our comrades lost courage and said: "There's no way of increasing the insulation thickness at all." Some even thought that it was "impossible for a machine to produce bitumen-coated corrosion-resistant layers." And the experiments came to a halt.

Could we allow the anti-corrosion insulation machine to die? No! At this juncture, the Party committee of the First Department of Oilfield Construction organized the workers to study the Party's general line for socialist construction and Chairman Mao's instruction: "Every new thing will have to experience difficulties and setbacks if it is to grow." Discussions were held on the question of whether or not to carry on the experiment on the insulation machine. Everyone realized that whether to mechanize anti-corrosion was not purely a technical problem but a problem of whether we should warmly support new socialist things and whether or not we should develop the petroleum industry with greater, faster, better and more economical results in accordance with the Party's general line for socialist construction. Everyone was determined to work out the machine at all costs. Under the leadership of the Party committee, the experiments were resumed. But again they failed after four more tests. Was there really no way of ever producing a corrosion-resistant insulating layer at all? Marxist dialectical materialism holds that in the world there are only things which have not been recognized, and nothing which cannot be known. It was necessary to sum up experience and find out the cause of the failure. With this purpose in mind, everyone began to analyze every single detail in the experiments and conducted "joint diagnosis" on the problem of how to increase the thickness of the corrosion resistant layers. Through more discussions, they

found that both the "film soaking" and "dipper casting" methods each had their own merits and faults. In film soaking, it was possible to form a multi-layer structure, but the work was complicated; in "dipper casting," the bitumen layer was very firm, but it could not produce many layers. By combining the strong points of the two methods, they came up with a new plan for dipper casting and soaking film, and through a number of tests, they succeeded in increasing the thickness to 5-6 millimeters. But the film had to be changed frequently, which was too troublesome, and reduced efficiency in operation. The experienced veteran workers found a way to reduce the frequency of changing the film by binding the pipe with wider film in narrow spirals. The results of the experiment were excellent, and after 25 more tests, they finally succeeded in producing the required six-millimeter insulation layer.

Having succeeded in the trial manufacture of the corrosion-resistant insulating machine, the next problem was to round out an operating line with such equipment as rust removers and bitumen tanks. These, too, had to be designed and made by themselves. The task was heavy and time was limited. What should be done? Should we proceed step by step or mobilize the masses and give them a free hand? Through practice, the Party committee realized that the masses of people had an infinite creative power, and that they could solve any problem, however difficult, on earth. When the leaders had the will, the masses would find the way and the means. With this assignment, the members of the breakthrough team left their offices, went to the rust-removing work site, and started to work on their rust remover project -- studying, analyzing, drawing and designing the machine together with the workers more quickly. Soon, the machine was trial manufactured. During the trial manufacture, the supply station delivered the material on its own initiative, and the processing unit went all out to help, not wasting a minute or even a second. With everyone working self-reliantly at the front and in the rear, the workers accomplished the task of trial manufacture according to schedule.

Fig. 4 Showing mechanized operation of pipe anti-corrosion insulation

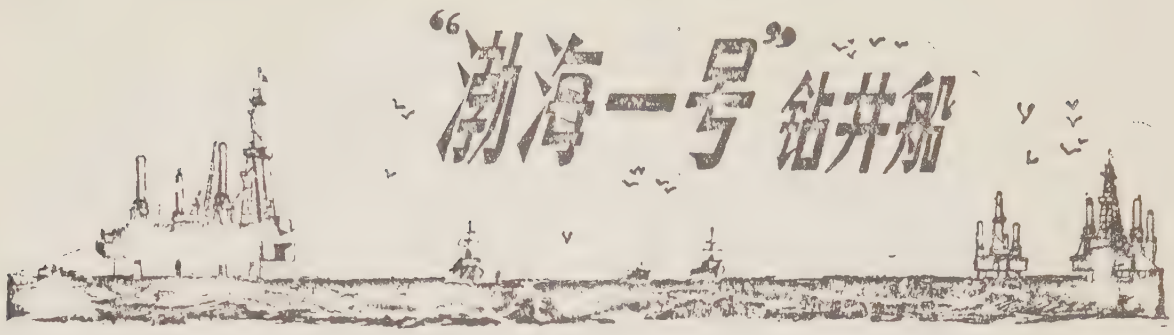
Mechanized operation of pipeline corrosion prevention insulation yields greater,faster, better and more economical results. The first pipe-lifting crane lifts a pipe on which the rust is removed by the rust remover. This is closely followed by the second pipe-lifting crane. While the anti-corrosion insulating machine is operating, the water tank is cooling off the anti-corrosion insulation layers from behind. The bitumen tank shuttles back and forth between the bitumen station and the work site with a ceaseless supply of high-temperature bitumen to the insulator. The job is done fast and with good quality.

The superiority of mechanized corrosion prevention was fully demonstrated in practice on the spot. Its efficiency is ten times higher than that of manual operation, and 41½ times higher than indoor pre-fabricated corrosion prevention. Large quantities of bitumen and gasoline for base-coat painting are saved. As bitumen is cast by machine for on-the-spot mechanized corrosion prevention and polyvinyl chloride film is bound by machine, the protective layers around the oil pipes are tighter and firmer than done by hand. Since there is no hauling of pipes by loading and unloading cars, damage to the insulating layers is averted, and the quality is better than manual and pre-fabricated corrosion prevention.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the fields of the struggle for production and scientific experiment, mankind makes constant progress and nature undergoes constant change; they never remain at the same level. Therefore, man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing." We are determined to continue to broaden, deepen and persevere in the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, firmly uphold dialectical materialism, oppose idealism, exert more efforts in practice and march onward continuously, so as to make new contributions to the Chinese petroleum industry and to the Chinese and world revolutions.

* * *

"Pohai No. 1" Offshore Drilling Rig



by

Hsiao Hsi-shu (肖希书) and Tseng Heng-i (曾恒一)

(K'o-hsüeh Shih-yen /Scientific Experiment/, No. 1, January 1975)

When you take a ship to Dairen from Tientsin, you will see a magnificent structure on the Pohai Sea. A drilling table, weighing several thousand tons, is held above the roaring waves of the sea by four giant legs each measuring more than 70 meters long. That is "Pohai No. 1," our country's first self-escalating offshore oil drilling rig, built by our shipbuilders and workers of concerned units in accordance with Chairman Mao's principle of "maintaining independence and self-reliance." "Pohai No. 1" has been put to test for two years, enduring the ordeals of furious storms and tides. Its drilling performance has proved to be excellent and up to standard in design. It is solid fruit of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a victory for Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Its completion plays a vital role in accelerating China's offshore oil exploration.

Offshore Drilling

How can we explore for oil from the sea floor? The first step is to search the sea floor for oil-bearing rocks, oil formations and structures. The second step is to carry out well drilling on structures that may contain oil. The third step is the development of the oilfield. First, let's discuss how to carry out offshore drilling. The first problem is to set up an offshore drilling installation containing drilling equipment, the necessary materials and a living quarter for the crew. There are two kinds of offshore drilling rigs: the fixed type and the movable type. The fixed type is usually used for production wells, since it need not be moved. The movable type is used mostly for drilling test wells. After it has drilled a well, it moves to another position for more well-drilling. When oil is extracted, generally a production platform is built over the site. There are four kinds of movable platforms: the base type, self-escalating type, semi-submersible, and floating rigs. Owing to its limitation in depth, the base type is rarely made nowadays. The self-escalating type is used in shallow waters, mostly

within waters 60-70 meters deep. The latest mammoth-size self-escalating drilling rigs can operate in waters 90-120 meters deep. Semi-submersibles and floating rigs generally operate in deep waters.

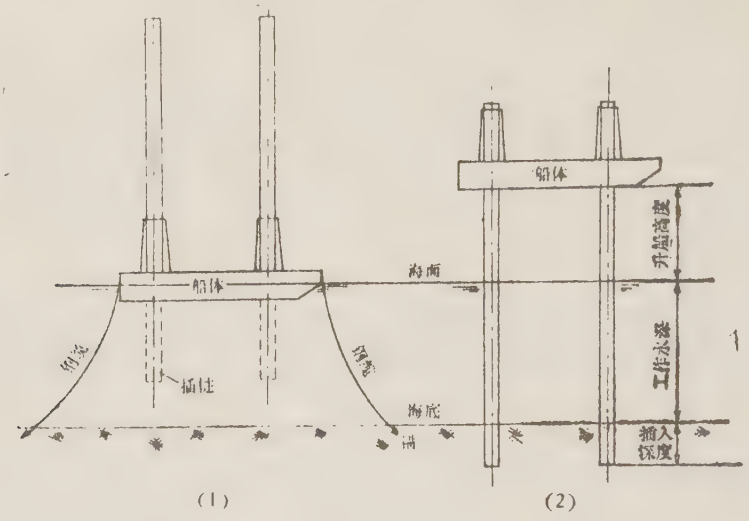


Fig. I Showing operation of self-escalating drilling rig

(1) Rig is towed to the well site:

a. Tugboat helps it cast four anchors. b. Legs are driven into ocean floor. c. Press-stress to increase load capacity of legs and to increase the carrying capacity of the base.

(2) Escalation of rig:

Following pre-stress, rig begins to escalate. Entire platform is raised to a certain height above water to avoid impact by waves and current before drilling proceeds.

What Is a Self-Escalating Drilling Rig?

Oil drilling on land is performed by installing a huge derrick at the oil site. Offshore drilling is more complicated in that the drilling machine has to operate on the surface of the water and is affected by winds, waves, currents and tides. It must therefore be adapted to the working environment on the sea. Through production practice people have learned how to make use of water buoyancy and to minimize the effects of winds, waves, currents and tides. The self-escalating drilling rig is designed on these principles and is composed of three main parts: the working table (hull of the drilling vessel), supporting legs and elevating mechanisms. Like a lighter when afloat, it can be towed away. When drilling, the legs are driven into the sea floor by force of the elevating

mechanism; then the hull of the vessel is raised above the surface of the water like a fixed platform, and only the legs are hit by the sea waves. (Fig. I) The drilling method is the same as the stationary rig. But unlike the latter, after drilling is over, the platform is lowered to the surface of the water, the legs are withdrawn from the sea bed, and the rig is towed to another drilling position. Like the hull of a ship, the working table carries power and drilling equipment, and is triangular, quadrilateral or pentagonal in shape. There are three kinds of legs: the cylinder type, the box type and the prism type. The first two are mostly used for waters less than 40 meters deep, and the third for waters more than 40 meters deep. A leg mostly consists of three or four posts to suit different geological conditions of the sea floor, the lower half of the leg also differs in shape, but generally there are two major types--the insertion type and the sunken type. The former is suitable for hard or comparatively soft sea bed and the latter for soft or sandy bottoms. There are also many types of elevating mechanisms, but the most commonly used today are the hydraulic pressure insertion type, the hydraulic pressure beam type and the electric powered rack and pinion type. Each kind of self-escalating drilling rig has its own characteristics, and in selecting the type to be used, the sea depth, the properties of the earth on the sea floor, the wind, waves, currents and tides should be taken into consideration.

Structure and Special Features of "Pohai No. 1"

"Pohai No. 1" is a self-escalating drilling rig. The body is rectangular, and on the working table there are power and drilling equipment and machines as well as living quarters for the crew. It is a completely self-supporting drilling rig. In all the four corners of the rectangular table, there are elevating mechanisms, which consist of fixed leg frames, oil pressure cylinders, beams and oil pressure installation. The bottom of the fixed leg frame is connected to the deck of the rig, and on top there are four oil pressure cylinders. Each cylinder has a pull rod, and on the tips of every two rods there is a beam. On the beam, there is a pin and on the bottom there are four load relieve cylinders which are two pairs of identical hydraulic cylinders with ring beams and pins. (Fig. II) There are four round holes on the four corners of the drilling table, and cylindrical legs with square-holed conductive plates pass through them. The legs and the body of the drilling vessel are joined when the pins are meshed with the square holes of the conductive plates, and this enables the elevating mechanisms to lower the legs, elevate the vessel, lower the vessel, and pull up the legs. When the drilling rig is being towed away, the body of the rig floats on the surface of the water with its four giant legs standing erect on the deck, and together with the derrick, they form a beautiful and magnificent picture. Although its center of gravity is high, the body of the rig is very wide and therefore in stable equilibrium. "Pohai No. 1" is not a self-propelled drilling rig. High horse-powered tugs are used to tow it, and upon arrival at a new well site, the rig casts anchor. Then the legs are lowered and driven into the sea floor by the escalating mechanism. The drilling platform is elevated to a certain height above the water and is now ready for work. To prevent the legs from sinking further into

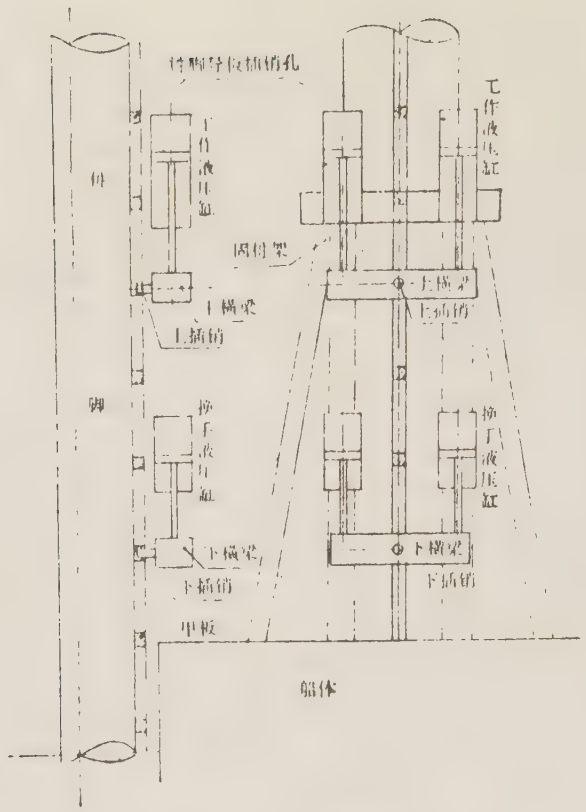


Fig. II Showing escalating mechanisms

the sea floor when the rig is drilling or when there is a storm, the legs must first go through a pre-load process before the rig is raised above the sea surface so as to drive the legs into the ocean bed with a maximum force equal to the working load or the load stress in a storm. The pre-stress is obtained by means of the oil pressure mechanisms and the weight of the rig. After this, the body is elevated above the sea surface to a certain height, determined by such conditions as storms, currents and waves. The rig is generally raised 8-9 meters above the water surface which will keep it from the surges of the sea during the worst storms. To prevent the oil cylinders from being kept under high pressure too long when the body of the vessel is in elevated position, mechanical load relievers replace the oil cylinders in supporting the bulk. In order to resist the horizontal forces of stormy waves and to keep the body from colliding with its legs, mechanical post-fasteners are installed on the rig between the holes and the legs. There is a concave opening at the stern of the drilling rig, and the base of the derrick is divided into two layers. By means of a hydraulic pressure mechanism, the bottom half can be moved vertically and the upper half horizontally. When the vessel moves off to a new place, the derrick is shifted to the middle section of the vessel; when it is used for drilling, the derrick is shifted to the concave trough. After drilling is finished, the table is lowered to the water surface, the legs withdrawn from the sea bottom and put on the deck, and the drilling vessel is ready for sail.

From above it can be seen that when "Pohai No. 1" is at work, the platform is kept in a relative stationary position on the sea floor, and the drilling method is exactly the same as drilling on land But as the platform and the sea floor are separated by water, a large diameter pipe /called the "riser"/ is installed beforehand to maintain the drilling-mud circulation between the well and the drilling table to control the well pressure.

Offshire Oil Mining

People naturally ask the question: What happens after "Pohai No. 1" taps oil? As mentioned above, self-escalating drilling rigs are usually used for drilling test wells and after drilling is completed they move on to another place. Thus, the drilling rig only needs to have oil testing equipment consisting of a separator, a measurement cylinder, a combustion chamber and some measurement meters. Oil from the well goes through the process of separation and measurement to find out the yield of the well and the characteristics of the oil stratum. There are two ways to dispose of the oil from the tests: (1) to burn it on the platform, or (2) to have it transported to the shore by tankers. The first method is usually employed. The combustion chamber is used to burn up all the crude oil so as to prevent oil pollution. After the test there are two ways of treating the exploratory well: (1) to seal the opening of the well with cement, cut off the pipe and tubes on the sea bed, and the well is abandoned when the rig moves away. The other method is to complete the installation of the well equipment, but this method is too complicated technically, it is seldom practiced.

For offshore oil mining at present, the fixed-type platform is usually used to drill production wells. After the drilling rig ascertains the area of the oilfield and crude reserves, a mining plan is drafted according to the nature of the oilfield and a number of production platforms for drilling and mining are built, with the method of drilling slanting wells in a fixed direction adopted. Oil from the well undergoes the simple treatment of separation, measurement and dehydration before it is moved by tankers or under water pipelines to ports or onshore terminals where, after being processed, it is supplied for industrial and farm use.

In zones with better sea conditions, small platforms are used and production wells are drilled with self-escalating rig. It is not necessary to install well drilling equipment on the platform. Mainly it is necessary to install equipment at the mouth of the well and separation instruments but another platform has to be built for collecting oil. In deciding upon the best method, two things must be taken into consideration: the oceangraphic conditions and the properties of the oil formation.

Our country has a long coastline and a large continental shelf with abundant oil resources. We believe that the industrious and brave people of China, firmly following the principle of maintaining independence and self-reliance and guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, will be able to build before long different types of offshore rigs. The crude oil that has been dormant beneath the sea for millions of years will be awakened.

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